

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. BLAIR,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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Mr. BLAIR said:

wants of the Treasury as of the present condition of trade. It is the fruit, I am inclined to believe, of careful and severe study; and though, as I have observed, protectionists have anticipated more radical changes of the existing tariff law than are to be found in the bill, yet in my judgment it has received, and will continue to receive, the general approbation of the country. There has not been a bill on your table for near twenty years that has excited an anxiety for its passage into a law so intense, and so wide-spread, as that which now animates the hopes or alarms the fears of all classes and conditions of men, for the ultimate fate of this measure. Its defeat can be justified in the eyes of the people by no fallacy however artful, by no excuse however plausible; neither can they be deceived by impracticable substitutes, or misled by partisan promises, which they have learned by bitter experience are often made only to be broken and trampled under foot, when they have served the temporary purposes of a selfish ambition.

Whatever objections the future discussions of the different clauses of the bill may present, I have thus far heard of none from its enemies, except to the duties proposed to be levied on the imports of iron in its various stages of manufacture. In the production of this commodity, many of the citizens of Pennsylvania, though not alone, are nevertheless extensively engaged, and it is but natural that her Representatives, fully realizing the extent to which the general prosperity of the State, and of the country, depends on the maintenance of her numerous establishments, and those of other States, should manifest a corresponding interest in whatever legislation may affect their welfare. We do not claim, in the discriminations of this bill, a rate of protection for the iron interest which we do not cheerfully accord to other pursuits, in which our own people, in common with the people of other States, are so largely engaged. We have been accustomed to regard the prosperity of each branch of labor as indispensable to a healthful development of every other, and would hail with the liveliest satisfac-

tion the promotion and encouragement of all the arts in every part of the Confederacy.

The enemies of protection, anxious to avail themselves of narrow, sectional, prejudices against its adoption, are accustomed sometimes to define it as a peculiarly Pennsylvania policy, as if we were selfishly committed to a principle at war with the interests, and prosperity, of every other part of the Republic. At other times, seeking to enlist in their service another class of prejudices, they teach that it is but a scheme to favor and enrich the ironmasters at the expense of all other interests. And we are accordingly told that whatever of value to the laborers, artisans, and capital of Pennsylvania, and of every other State engaged in the manufacture of iron, that would spring from the adoption of this measure, is a concession to the clamors of the ironmongers, moved by a cupidity never satisfied by the bounties of the Government. I shall undertake to show, sir, that in this respect our demands have been so moderate, that the opposition to the bill, because of the supposed exorbitant duties, cannot stand justified by the truth. The proposed duties on iron are not beyond what, by the common consent of those who in this country profess to believe in the maxims and policy of free trade, is esteemed a revenue standard of duty. The duty on pig iron is fixed at six dollars per ton, on railroad iron twelve dollars, on bar iron fifteen dollars; and the objection is, that these are protective and not revenue duties. The great desideratum of the friends of free trade, in 1846, was to discover what was the lowest rate of duty that would produce the largest amount of revenue, regardless of its effects on manufactures. The Secretary of the Treasury, whose free-trade friends, until quite recently, never named him but to praise him, after a most careful collection of statistical information regarding the condition of manufactures, and the operations of commerce, and after arranging his tables in every conceivable shape, that he might deduce from them a practical result, informed Congress, that all he could say on the subject was, that on a list of articles of which iron was one, the lowest rate of duty that could be imposed, in order to raise the largest amount of revenue, would exceed twenty per cent. ad valorem. Thus it will be perceived he limited the inquiry only in one direction, and left his friends in Congress to wander over the wide field he spread before them for the discovery of the secret. They found it. It was thirty per cent.; and that, by the general verdict of professed free traders, was adjudged a strictly revenue duty, one that relieved consumers from all taxation except for the legitimate purposes of Government. Now, sir, I ask those free-trade gentlemen, who suppose the iron interest to be unduly protected by this bill, to look at the facts, and see how far they are sustained in that opinion. At the time of the passage of the act of 1846, the English price of bar iron was forty-eight dollars and fifty cents per ton, which, with commissions, would amount to fifty dollars, the duty on which was fifteen dollars, the precise sum named in this bill. But I do not propose to confine the

inquiry to the price of a single year, for it might lead to false conclusions. Take the last five years of the operation of the tariff of 1846, ending 31st June, 1857, a period sufficient to afford us a fair test, and during that time we find, from the custom-house returns, that the average foreign price of bar iron was \$52.23 per ton, which made the duty at thirty per cent. fifteen dollars and sixty-seven cents. The declared average price of railroad iron was \$39.34 per ton, making the duty eleven dollars and eighty cents. The average foreign price of pig iron during the same time was \$17.70, yielding a duty of five dollars and thirty-one cents. So that the duties proposed now would be sixty-nine cents per ton more on pig iron, eleven cents per ton more on railroad iron, and sixty-seven cents per ton less on bars, than the duties collected under the act of 1846, during the time I have mentioned. A table published by the honorable gentleman from Vermont, [Mr. MORRILL,] who reported the bill, embracing the same classes of iron for a period covering the last six years, including the time since the act of 1857 went into operation, exhibits about the same result, and sustains the assertion that this provision relative to the duties on iron is simply a change in the form of imposing the duty.

During the five years mentioned we imported 484,441 tons of pig, 445,895 tons rolled bar, and 1,043,979 tons rails; so that, if the specific duties of this bill had been levied during that period, the account would have stood thus:

Increased duty on pig iron	-	-	\$334,264.29
Increased duty on rails	-	-	208,795.80
			<hr/> 543,060.09
Deduct diminished duty on bars	-	-	298,749.95

Leaving - - - - - \$244,320.14
the amount of duty which, at the rates of this bill, would have been levied on 1,974,315 tons of total imports more than would be imposed by a duty of thirty per cent., or about twelve cents per ton on the three classes of iron.

But if the custom-house returns presented the true foreign market value of the iron imported, it would be found that the duties of this bill, instead of being a fraction—a very inconsiderable fraction—over the favorite revenue standard of thirty per cent. on rails and pig, would be very much under it. It is well known that a great portion of the iron imports—and this remark applies as well to many other articles—is invoiced on account of the foreign manufacturer, to the agent in this country, at the net cost of production, and not at the price which it would cost a purchaser in the market from which it is exported. Our consul at Glasgow, Mr. Vail, in his report of September 30, 1858, says: "Pig iron is a very prominent article of export, and is now almost entirely supplied on manufacturers' account; and, in the absence of any demand in the United States, is so shipped apparently in order to reduce the stock on hand here, thereby to keep up the price at home." I am therefore free to aver that these duties, so far from being exorbitant concessions to the manufacturer, are

absolutely less than those of the act of 1846. The bill has nothing to commend it to our favor over that act, but the conversion of its *ad valorem* into specific duties. This is the chief protective feature in it, and that being equally favorable to the revenue, upon what possible grounds can its enemies maintain their opposition?

The evils arising from *ad valorem* duties are so universally felt and understood, that the wonder is a single advocate can be found for them. I believe that amongst all the nations of Christendom, except our own, specific duties are imposed whenever, from the circumstances of the case, they are at all possible or convenient. In the late commercial treaty between France and England, of which I shall have more to say hereafter, the policy of imposing specific, in preference to *ad valorem* duties, is recognised in that clause which provides for the conversion of the latter into specifics, by another convention, on the first of October next, to be estimated on the average prices of the articles for the five months preceding the date of the treaty. One of the inconveniences of our system arises from the great fluctuation of prices, rendering it extremely difficult to determine whether the invoice is fraudulent. Under it, the frauds upon the revenue are innumerable. It is said by the merchants, and by our consuls abroad, that in many parts of the continent it is the uniform custom of manufacturers to make out two invoices, one for the custom-house, exhibiting the prices at a low figure, generally from twenty to forty per cent. below the value of the article, in order to secure a low duty, and the other for the consignee, showing the true value. A gentleman here this winter told me that whilst in Paris last fall, after he had purchased a bill of \$700 of fine goods, he was asked if he would have a custom-house invoice at thirty-three per cent. below the actual cost, and was told, that while it was possible for him to pass them at the custom-house at an appraisement of forty per cent. less than the cost, it would be more judicious to take it at the usual rate of thirty-three, and avoid all risk of detection.

Take the article of bar iron, for example, which fluctuates in price from five shillings to perhaps twenty-five per cwt., an article that will be quoted at different prices every week, and how easily may the most competent and honest appraiser be misled from one to three shillings by a fraudulent invoice, whereby the revenue will be defrauded of two or three dollars per ton. But, sir, however injuriously the revenue may be affected by the *ad valorem* system, the manufacturers, and especially the iron manufacturers, are the victims of its most mischievous consequences. When the specifics of 1842 were replaced by the *ad valorem* of 1846, the duty on bars, at the then existing prices, was, as I have shown, fifteen dollars per ton; and they through whose violated faith and broken pledges that fatal measure was carried sought to reconcile the manufacturers, by the protection which that duty would afford them. In vain, however, did they plead, that when, in

the fluctuations of prices abroad, iron would be, as then, at a high price, they would not need protection, and when low it would be taken from them. And what was the result? In a very short time, the English price fell from fifty dollars to twenty-four dollars per ton, and the duty consequently from fifteen dollars to seven dollars and twenty cents. The English, strong in cheap capital and cheap wages, flooded our ports with low-priced iron to such an extent that many of our furnaces were blown out, and those that continued, struggled on, though seriously crippled in the unequal contest.

Again: on the sudden appearance of the railroad mania in England, prices rose to the highest speculative points; and when the bubble burst, the immense surplus stocks on hand were exported to this country, again to glut our market; and thus it is that by constantly-recurring causes, over which we have no control, the American manufacturer, contesting at such great odds with the foreigner, is eventually driven out. It is protection against these extreme fluctuations, produced by the operation of financial causes abroad, and often, by deliberate design, to break down our weak establishments, and give the field to the foreigner, which we seek through the instrumentality of specific duties.

But, sir, whilst specific duties are acceptable to us because they are protective, they are opposed by the enemies of the bill, for the same reason. We suppose that in the exercise of the power given us by the Constitution, to impose duties, and to regulate commerce, we should so impose them, and so frame our regulations, as to protect and foster our native labor in the development of our almost limitless resources, against the shocks to which it is exposed from the fluctuations of foreign commerce. The public welfare demands it, and to effect it is within the legitimate range of legislative duty; but the theory of government entertained on the other side of this House is, that in the imposition of duties we have no other functions to perform, but to provide the means to pay for armies, and navies, the civil and diplomatic service. When the soldiers and sailors and office-holders are paid their salaries, the great purpose of civil government, in their estimation, has been performed, its mission ended, its powers exhausted. We are told that we must let trade alone; it will take care of itself; it will be regulated by the mutual interest of producer and consumer, and protection is but a restriction on individual freedom, and a derangement of the natural order of things. I think, Mr. Chairman, that there is a seeming inconsistency of conduct in those who advocate such opinions, for they find no difficulty in advocating the interference of Government in a thousand ways, differing only in form, but identical in principle and purpose. On what principle are those regulations to be justified, which in every conceivable shape are to be found in legislation restrictive in their character? Why suffer the State to invade the freedom of the domestic relations? The advocates of the let-alone policy should object to the restrictive laws which regulate the relation of parent and child, hus-

band and wife, because the mutual sentiments of affection, duty, and interest, all combined, will be sufficient of themselves to produce harmony and order; but if they are wanting, then why should Government step in to enforce an unwilling union, and subjection? Sir, the advocates for free trade and free love need not stand far apart, when demanding the adoption of the "let-alone" theory. On your statute books you have your quarantine laws, your prohibitions against the import of adulterated drugs, for the protection of health, by prohibiting that which tends to injure it; if that is a legitimate function of Government, may it not be exercised to protect labor, by prohibiting, or, at least partially restraining the operation of agencies that will injure and destroy it? There is a bill now on the calendar regulating the number of passengers to be allowed on steam-going vessels. Why not apply the principle to that measure, and trust to the interests of owners and passengers, and the natural order of things, to regulate the evil intended to be cured? If protection is to be excepted from the operations of Government, there can be no other forth-putting of its powers, and society is resolved into anarchy. The whole frame-work and life of society is itself but the outgrowth of artificial legal restrictions, adapting themselves to the changing conditions, interests, and wants, of mankind. Without them, labor, capital, and exchange of products, can have no existence. An unrestricted, unregulated, domestic or international commerce is incomprehensible, as the world now stands. Perhaps, when the millennial era, of which the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] spoke, shall appear, the "let-alone" philosophers, now so far in advance of a world which doth not comprehend their light, will see their theory in the full tide of successful operation. Mr. Chairman, human wisdom cannot devise a tariff at all approximating the wants of the Treasury that will not be protective, to some extent, of some interests. If you should provide a horizontal tariff of twenty or thirty per cent., or of any given rate, on all imports, it would in some instances be protective, and in others prohibitive; or if there be different rates of duty, and they be fixed by lot on the different imports, even then, sir, there would result protection to some interests, in various degrees. Then, if there be some branches of industry which will undoubtedly be benefited to some extent, even though left to the blind arbitrament of chance, is it not better, after a careful and comprehensive inquiry into the condition of all the industrial pursuits of the country, to impose them for their encouragement and protection, so as to produce the greatest good to the greatest number? Our warrant in the Constitution for the regulation of commerce, and the imposition of duties on foreign imports, is in general terms, leaving the manner in which it shall be exercised clearly within the discretion of Congress; and, to say nothing of the long line of authorities, in the declared opinions favorable to protection, of nearly all our public characters, who have enjoyed the confidence and honors of the Republic, we may point with satisfaction to the purpose, end, and

aim, of the first tariff law on the statute book, enacted by the men who assisted in the great work of framing the Constitution, and whose acts consequently have a peculiar importance, as they are the best commentaries on the Constitution itself. The law of 1789 was enacted for two direct, distinct, and independent purposes, one of which was the payment of the debts of the United States, and the other was—not of secondary importance, or incidental to it, but distinctly—for the protection of such infant manufactures as the necessities of the Revolution had called into life. The men of that day, sir, were earnest, truthful men, who spoke what they thought. They did not leave the principle of protection to rest on inference, or doubtful construction, of their acts, but they wrote it down in the preamble of the law, as follows:

"Whereas it is necessary for the support of 'the Government, for the discharge of the debts 'of the United States, and the encouragement and 'protection of manufactures, that duties should be 'levied on goods, wares, and merchandise imported, be it enacted," &c.

Thus, sir, did they leave on record an example worthy of imitation on all proper occasions by those who should follow them in the noble work of legislating for the welfare of this great people. Such an occasion now presents itself. The present condition of the country invites us to review our existing policy, that we may correct the errors into which we have fallen. No man, of the least observation, can fail to be impressed with the fact that, by the operation of some cause, our apparent prosperity has been checked, and our progress in the development of American civilization seriously hindered. The laborer seeks employment often in vain, and when employed, it is at such prices as barely enable him to live. When the employer is able at all to survive the depression to which he has been subjected, his chief care has been to discharge from his employment his surplus hands; and in thousands of instances the laborers, who have toiled at the mines, the furnaces, and mills, for the support of large and entirely dependent families, find themselves unexpectedly deprived of their only source of support. The great capital of the country is its labor, and, unemployed, it seeks investment in vain. I will venture the statement, that for more than two years past there has not been a furnace built; and those that remain in blast, unless enjoying some special advantages, have reduced their production in a manner corresponding to the limited demand; many, unable to catch a ray of hope from the gloomy prospects that still lie before them, have with a wise and cautious prudence closed up their establishments, and others have been forced to sale by the sheriff.

The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] supposed that furnaces, like ships, were not now worth more than half their cost; but I do not suppose there are many furnaces that would this day bring one-fourth of their cost. The Government, too, without any cause for extraordinary embarrassment, is unable to meet the demands upon the Treasury without a resort to

loans. Now, sir, what enemy has done this? Has the Creator been sparing of his bounties to us? He has blessed us with a luxuriant soil and a healthful climate. He has sent us neither war nor pestilence. Neither has he forgotten his covenant for seed-time and harvest; for the earth, as ever, still yields her increase. Amongst the richest ores of the world are deposited with us, and in convenient proximity lies the fuel wherewith they may be smelted. We have thousands of strong and willing workmen, to dig both fuel and ore, and smelt it into the pig, and fashion it into the bloom, the bar, the rail, and all the shapes in which it can enter into human consumption; and yet, sir, they stand idle, and stand in each other's way for employment, whilst these placers of wealth, far richer than the gold of "Ormus or of Ind," lie undisturbed, as they have lain from the ages of their formation, guarded by some hidden power which keeps the way, that no man can enter in.

Mr. Chairman, we have been excluded from our own limitless and inexhaustible fields of labor by the slogan of the free trader, "Buy in the cheapest market"—a sentiment, however just and unobjectionable in itself abstractly considered, it would not be difficult to show, is a most pernicious one as understood and applied by the American advocates of free trade. It is a phrase coined for mischief, and often sounded from the lips of men conscious of truth at war with the sense in which it is designed to be understood. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his great speech at the opening of the present session of the British Parliament, in which he advocated the release of English commerce from legislative restrictions, said that the policy which would give the maximum of employment to the labor of a country, would produce the maximum good. That was a sentiment which I may take occasion to show was in perfect harmony with the policy which he advocated for England, but diametrically opposed by the free trade which he, and others, recommend as the policy of the United States. To give the maximum of employment to the laborers of our country is a work worthy of an honorable ambition; but it is one that can never be accomplished, so long as our legislation is controlled by a maxim which had its origin, and finds its legitimate application, in other nations, under circumstances and conditions bearing no analogy to our own. Directed by that maxim, since it found a place in the law of 1846, we have gone abroad into the "cheapest market," and spent, in the purchase of the single article of iron, nearly three hundred millions of dollars. What effect has this supposed economy had upon the wealth of the country? What would have been its advantage, if this immense amount of iron had been supplied from our own mines and furnaces and rolling mills? Surely, there is no one, in the least acquainted with our resources, who will suppose that every pound of it could not have been produced at home. And I will assume, what all experience confutes, that if, by proper encouragement, this iron had been made at home, it would have cost one hundred millions more; and

upon that hypothesis let us glance at the result. The four hundred millions of capital which would have been exchanged for the iron made at home, would have been distributed, in different proportions, amongst our own laborers, as their share of the capital invested by them in its production. They, in turn, would have spent their share of the produce in exchange for food and clothing, houses, education of children, in articles ministering to taste, elevation, and refinement, and whatsoever else that helps to make up the best condition of society—a progressive civilization. We would then have had our wealth increased to double the amount of that which was thus spent in the manufacture of the iron; that is, we would have had what was spent, for it would still have been in circulation in the country, and we would have had what was produced by it—the iron. The labor of the farmers and mechanics would have produced the supplies for all engaged in its manufacture, and each would have had the means wherewith to buy the productions of the other.

The country, during the period named, needed this quantity of iron, amounting, at the foreign price, to \$300,000,000, beyond the domestic production. We had the materials and labor which could have made it all, say at a cost of \$400,000,000. Why, then, was it not good economy to buy it from abroad, and save \$100,000,000, on the theory of the free-traders? Did we not, gain, because we saved that amount—a penny saved being a penny gained? That is true, sir; but does the man who looks his business squarely in the face content himself with looking on the profit side of his account, without casting up the losses? If we will but imitate his prudence, we will see that, while we may have gained by saving this sum, we have in fact lost at least \$400,000,000 on the same principle, seeing that we could have made it ourselves, and produced all that was produced at the same time. The farmer, who buys what he could easily have made himself without lessening his other productions, as surely loses the amount of its cost as if he had cast it into the fire. If he produces the article himself, he is richer to the full extent of its price or value. If the \$400,000,000 worth of iron had been made at home, it would have constituted a clear gain to the country. The whole sum would have represented what all in any way connected with its manufacture would have had to spend in the purchase of other commodities. The miners, teamsters, colliers, cokers, furnace hands, and the other capitalists who invest their capital in its production, would have each enjoyed their respective shares of this sum. They would have been that much richer, and the country would have been to that extent wealthier. But that is not all. If we had bought that surplus iron made at home, it would have been purchased by the exchange of that amount of other home commodities which would have been produced, but were not. The productions of our agriculturists are only limited by the extent of their markets. They do not produce more than they do, because they cannot sell. It would be im-

possible to estimate the extent to which their productions might be carried, if their unemployed capital was in active operation, if new fields were brought under cultivation, or even old ones were duly fertilized. I assume it as a postulate which cannot provoke a doubt, that the iron I have mentioned could have been produced by capital and labor at home that was unemployed, and that it would have been purchased by agricultural and other productions, the fruit likewise of unemployed labor and capital. Thus the wealth of the country would have been increased to twice the amount that would have been spent for the home article; and while we save \$100,000,000 on the one hand, we lose \$800,000,000 on the other. In the crisis of 1857, the country lost by the fall of prices, without considering the depressions in real estate, about one thousand millions of dollars—a disaster which would have been utterly impossible, if we had been in possession of the actual values which the home manufacture of the single article of iron would have called into existence. But it would be a very inadequate conception of the real advantages of the home production of the articles I have mentioned, to confine them to the simple values thus produced. The reproductive powers of these investments should be taken in the account, as every dollar expended in the development of our natural resources multiplies itself *ad infinitum*.

Reckless of our dearest interests, we have employed British capital and British laborers to make our iron; we have employed British manufacturers, to clothe them, and British farmers to feed them with the produce of their soil, excepting the trivial amount of breadstuffs which they take from us; and, what makes it still worse, we have purchased on credit, because, when gold fails, we send our bonds, and other evidences of indebtedness, in exchange, at ruinous rates of discount.

But, sir, is it true that, with all this immense sacrifice of our home capital, we procure our iron cheaper from abroad than if, by adopting a protective policy, we should enable our own people to make it? It is a fact which should be constantly borne in mind, that the manufacturing industry of this country must look to men of moderate means for its development—the men of enterprise—as being a class, in such circumstances. In nine cases out of ten, by the time the furnace is built, the mines of coal and ore purchased, the owner finds his available capital exhausted, and a debt upon his shoulders. His neighbor opens another mine, builds his furnace, and competes with him in the supply of those who purchase. Their first returns of profit are reinvested on the spot, in putting their mines and furnaces in a better working condition, so as to make the same or a greater quantity of iron with less labor; the product is at once cheapened to the consumer. Again: the profits are invested in a railroad that will connect the furnace with the mines, and at once a large reduction in the cost of transporting is effected, so that a largely-increased quantity of coal and ore can be transported with less labor. And they are again

able to enter the market on terms more favorable to the consumer. Thus by competition they are constantly approaching the maximum of production by the minimum of labor—that point where the shares in the value produced, of all directly or indirectly contributing, are increased to the highest degree; where the laborer has the most to spend for everything for which a man spends his capital.

When production is small, the share of the laborer is small; and it increases just as the production increases. When small, it is a dear product to him; and as he gets more iron for his labor, he gets it cheaper. When employed, it is cheap to him. When unemployed, it is dear, whether the market price in money be high or low. And just as it is dear or cheap to the men who make it, is it dear or cheap to the men who buy it and use it. And as it is by employment that men are able to buy, the policy which gives to labor the greatest employment produces the greatest good. This would be the actual condition of our people, if we could obtain exemption from *unfair* competition.

The early policy of Great Britain inaugurated a protective system of laws which absolutely prohibited the entrance of all foreign fabrics that could possibly rival her own; and if she had gone no further, it had been well, not only for her own people, but for all others. Not content with a policy which, but for the unequal distribution of lands, and the checks to its improvement in the system of titles by which it was chiefly held, would have created a wholesome employment of her labor in diverse pursuits, proportioned to the needs of her population, she has, with a sedulous selfishness, devoted the energies of the empire to making her factories the “workshops of the world.”

To accomplish this end, it was her constant effort, until recently, to cut off all other nations from the means of improvement in manufacturing industry, which they might derive from the skill of her artisans. Her statute books abound in the most arbitrary and illiberal enactments, forbidding all persons from entering into contracts with British operatives, who were ingenious and skillful in any of the various branches of manufactures, to go into foreign countries, for the avowed purpose, in almost every instance, of preventing foreign nations from availing themselves of their knowledge, and thereby building up factories for themselves. Her restrictions, however, did not stop here; but, with the same spirit and intent, laws were enacted to prevent the exportation of all tools and machines used by her manufacturers. Such restrictive and prohibitory laws for the encouragement of trade, meet the eye so often, in turning over the statutes of the last century, that it would almost seem to have been the chief business of legislation, to build up British manufactures, and British shipping, and to counteract the efforts of all other nations to diversify their pursuits, and supply themselves. As an example, I present the following, passed in 1785, chapter 67:

“An act to prohibit the export of tools and utensils made use of in the iron and steel manu-

'factures of the Kingdom, and to prevent the 'contracting with artisans in these factories to 'go abroad." The preamble reads thus: "Where- 'as the exportation of the several tools and 'utensils made use of in preparing, working up, 'and finishing iron and steel manufactures of 'this Kingdom, will enable foreigners to work 'at such manufactures, and thereby greatly dimin- 'ish the exportation of the same from this King- 'dom; therefore, for the preserving as much as 'possible the benefits arising from those great 'and reliable branches of trade and commerce '&c., be it enacted."

The act then proceeds to forbid the export of machinery, such as rollers, moulds, punches, &c.; enacts heavy penalties for its violation, besides a confiscation of the machinery when seized. An additional preamble declares:

"And whereas, for the encouraging of such 'manufactures in this Kingdom, it is necessary 'that provision should be made to prevent artifi- 'cers and others employed therein from depart- 'ing," &c.; and then follows the prohibitory provision against seducing, soliciting, or con- 'tracting with British workmen to go into foreign countries. There was not until recently an im- 'portant branch of industry in the Kingdom that was not protected by enactments of like extreme and arbitrary severity, but it was not enough to prevent foreigners from employing their work- men and buying their machines; for other nations would gradually direct their endeavors to manu- 'facture their own materials, unless restrained. But it has been her concurrent policy, in perfect harmony with the laws here mentioned, to push her armies and navies around the world, con- quering empires upon which the sun never sets, whereto her merchants may carry her manu- 'factures, unmolested by competition. It is not for fame that she has won her most splendid vic- 'tories, so much as for her markets. It is not so much the love of glory that fires her ambition, as the calculation of the merchant, who seeks a place to sell his woollens, his cottons, and his iron. For this, she wars with the weak and intrigues with the strong. In short, her design is to manu- 'facture the raw materials of her own and of other nations, not only for her own supply, but for the supply of the world. The chief element of her power to underwork other nations and supply them with her fabrics is the low wages of her manufacturing operatives. Competition for employment reduces wages as it reduces the prices of all other commodities; and the inquiry is presented, why it is that in a country where manufactures have been so highly favored, the condition of the operatives in the manufacturing districts, has so generally excited the commiseration of the humane. Accustomed as men are to associate power and dignity with the perpetu- 'ation of large landed estates in families, especial- 'ly where the spirit of feudalism has been infused into the framework of society, as was the case in England, it is not to be wondered at that the lands of the Kingdom were chiefly concentrated into the hands of the few. The titles being generally under family settlements, by deeds, wills, and other assurances, gave the person having the right to

the enjoyment of the land, but an estate for his own life, an estate which he could not charge with debts or dispose of for a longer period. In many cases the occupants found them- 'selves in possession of large bodies of land which required a liberal expenditure of capital to render them productive. There was no inducement to invest the requisite sums on an estate which might terminate at any mo- 'ment with his life, and then pass at once to another, who would enjoy its benefits without being at all subjected to the burden of its im- 'provement; and, for the same reason, no one would lend money upon mortgage or other security on such an uncertain estate. From these and other causes growing out of land monopoly, labor was excluded from a quantity of land suffi- 'cient in extent, if brought under a thorough sys- 'tem of culture, to produce food for the entire pop- ulation. Agriculture had not its just propor- 'tion of capital and labor employed in its devel- 'opment, to which it was entitled, if there had been a natural and equitable distribution; and the consequence was, an excessive supply of both, for mechanical and commercial pursuits. The evil became so pressing and alarming, that dur- 'ing the agitation for the repeal of the corn laws, reformatory movements were set on foot, enabling capitalists to advance money for drainage pur- 'poses, to be charged on the land, and requiring the interest to be kept down by the tenant for life. The Government, too, has, in pursuance of various acts of Parliament, advanced on loan at three per cent. interest, for agricultural im- 'provements, various sums amounting to about twenty-five millions of dollars; and these reforms have had a decidedly salutary influence in ameliora- 'ting the condition of agricultural labor, and ad- 'vancing the productive power of the improved land. But the mining and manufacturing la- 'borers, crowded in the districts where the works are carried on, and trained for generations in the habits of their peculiar toil, and consequen- 'ly unfitted for other pursuits, can experience from these movements but little relief. They are still subjected to the constant depressions of wages rendered necessary in order to under-sell and break down the laborers of every other country who desire to set up for themselves. It is obvious, then, that a country possessing the advantages of such cheap labor and cheap capital, and with machinery advanced to the highest stage of perfection, can manufacture at rates that for all time to come will keep from full employment the capital and labor of a coun- 'try like ours, unless they are met by restrictions adapted to the necessities of the case.

I have spoken of the progressive steps by which manufactures are cheapened when labor in the various pursuits of life can find employ- 'ment, when producers have at their doors a mar- 'ket for the exchange with each other of their respective products, and where, as a laboring man, lately speaking to me of the effect of pro- 'tection, said, "We mutually help each other." I have spoken, too, of the improvement in the machinery of production brought about by a fair and free competition, by which the cost of the

article to the consumer is lessened. But the progress to such happy results is opposed by the condition of labor and capital in England, to which I have alluded, and which draws us within the circle of an *unfair* competition—a competition as unfair as would be that between a merchant who by fraud obtains his goods below their value, and another who has paid an honest price for what he has to sell. The Englishman tells us to buy in the cheapest market, and proffers to us goods cheapened by cruel exactions from poor operatives, and deposits them in our warehouses at prices below what must be paid to American laborers alone for their manufacture. We give heed to the plausible and insidious advice, and dismiss from employment our own labor and capital, and for a time the individual consumers procure their goods at a lower cost in money. But the foreign price is variable, as it must always be in a country depending on the exchange of its manufactured products for the raw materials of nations all around the globe, and consequently we are at once placed at the mercy of these changes. Besides this, we are at the mercy of combinations among gigantic establishments to regulate prices, as is frequently observed in the notices of meetings of Staffordshire and Welsh ironmasters, where they resolve upon an advance or depression of prices, as may suit their purposes; so that we soon discover, when the foreigner has obtained the exclusive control of our markets, we are paying a largely-increased price, by which we are simply helping him to retrieve his losses in the efforts that were expended to break down the home production. We are invited, however, to buy our iron and other articles in this cheap market, for the further reason that it is the dearest market in which to sell our breadstuffs and cotton and other raw materials; and this is the argument by which American farmers have been induced, by the abandonment of the protective tariff of 1842, to discharge their own manufacturers, and employ those abroad. Has experience, the faithful touchstone of truth, commended to their judgments all the advantages of a foreign market, which free trade pictured to their imaginations? I think not. They were told that England was casting off the shackles from commerce which a barbarous, selfish, and anti-commercial spirit had imposed, and that, inaugurating a new era of unrestricted international exchanges, she was throwing open her ports for the admission of our breadstuffs, after long and wearisome contests with the protectionists. That was in the year 1846. The protection afforded by the act of 1842 had infused so much of life and energy into the country, that it was fast working its way to commercial independence. Capital, that had been driven from active employment by the disasters consequent on the reduction of duties by the tariff of 1833, sought investment not only in the old, but in new avenues of industry; laborers no longer looked for employers, but employers for them—a condition of things that in a short time would have driven British manufactures from our markets, and replaced them with our own, on a basis so firm

that they could have soon maintained their ground, unaided by protection. But the selfishness and avarice of British manufacturers, shippers, and merchants, left untried no means within their power to compass the defeat of our prosperity. British intrigue and British gold were employed in the work of destruction, and an Administration was brought into power by studiously and persistently assuring the people that the law of 1842, so fruitful of blessings, should be religiously supported and preserved. England immediately began the repeal of many duties which were utterly useless for the protection of her industry, for the simple purpose of affording an example of her supposed abandonment of the protective policy, the better to enable her to operate on the minds of our own and of other people, and thereby induce them to repeal duties that were truly and substantially protective. The modification of the corn laws, too, was pushed to a speedy conclusion, for the benefit of the manufacturers, and to reconcile our farmers to the repeal of the act of 1842. Now, sir, what have they gained by it? What has been the result?

From a table exhibiting the quantities of wheat imported into Great Britain in a series of years, which I find in the consular returns of 1855, I extract the following:

Wheat imported from the United States.—In 1846, 808,178 quarters; in 1847, 1,834,142 quarters; in 1848, 296,102 quarters; in 1849, 617,131 quarters; in 1850, 537,030 quarters; in 1851, 911,855 quarters; in 1852, 1,231,894 quarters.

Wheat imported from other countries.—In 1846, 1,529,900 quarters; in 1847, 2,592,526 quarters; in 1848, 2,587,731 quarters; in 1849, 3,852,000 quarters; in 1850, 4,091,048 quarters; in 1851, 4,349,510 quarters; in 1852, 2,906,778 quarters.

The exports of wheat and wheat flour to Great Britain for the year ending 30th June, 1859, were as follows:

	Bushels.	Value.
Wheat - -	1,322,718	\$1,296,290
Wheat flour -	232,368	1,051,051

I will not stop to dwell on the inconsiderable importance of the British market for this article. It is sufficient to say that, considering the increase of population in both countries, and the power of other nations to compete with us successfully in the supply of breadstuffs for that market, it is not worth our care. And if we will but consider the improvements in agriculture which of late have commanded so large a share of public attention in England, it will be obvious that her market for our breadstuffs will continue to diminish until, in a short time, we shall be entirely excluded. I have already adverted to the difficulty, indeed impossibility, of investing a proper share of capital in English agriculture. I would now claim the attention of the Committee more particularly to the reforms recently set on foot for the remedy of this evil. The Parliament, as early as 1840, took hold of the matter, and passed an act enabling persons having a limited interest in lands to charge them under certain restrictions with debts contracted for improvements, the spirit and pur-

pose of which is recited in the preamble, as follows :

"Whereas much of the land in England and Ireland would be rendered permanently more productive by improved draining, and nevertheless, by reason of the great expense thereof, proprietors having a limited interest in such land are unable to execute such draining ; and whereas it is expedient, as well for the more abundant production of food as for increased employment of farming laborers, and the extended investment of capital in the permanent improvement of the soil, that such proprietors should be relieved from this disability, &c., be it enacted," &c.

The system, thus begun, was continued by various subsequent acts, looking to its perfection. And because, in the language of that of 1st August, 1849, it was "desirable that the works of drainage should continue to be encouraged in order to promote the increased productiveness of land," it was provided that loans should be made from the Treasury to accomplish the purpose. Now, sir, let us see how our agriculturists, who set their hopes on the English market for the sale of their produce, are affected and will continue to be affected by this reform alone. From a table presented to the Society of Arts, by Mr. Denton, in December, 1855, and published in 1858, in the 5th vol. of Took's History, it appears that of the 56,362,000 acres of land in Great Britain, 43,957,000 acres are cultivated and cultivable land ; and of this area, there are 22,890,000 acres wet land, requiring drainage. And from the returns then received of the operation of the drainage laws, there had been drained 1,365,000 acres, leaving 21,525,000 acres yet undrained—nearly one-half of the cultivable land of the Kingdom. These returns further show, that in some instances there has been an increased yield of one-fourth over that of the same land before drainage, and in no instance did it fall below four bushels to the acre. Thus, if you take the lowest increase on any one acre as the standard, the yield of their agriculture would be increased 86,000,000 bushels per annum ; and if we regard other improvements in cultivation adopted by the British farmers of all classes, and the increased productions of Ireland from the same causes, can there be a doubt of their capacity to supply a far greater population than is there at present, and of the ultimate success in these endeavors to accomplish it ? I believe that these facts sufficiently show that Great Britain, instead of suffering from over-population, will yet demonstrate, by a judicious investment of capital in agriculture, that she can afford the means of subsistence to twice her population. Is it not, then, sir, the part of wisdom in our farmers to encourage whatever has a tendency to build up a home market for their productions, and lessen their dependence on a foreign market which at best is fluctuating and uncertain, and from which, by every indication, they will ultimately be excluded ? If it were even otherwise, however, it is not well that we should continue to send our raw produce to the workshops of foreigners, burdened with charges for freights and commis-

sions, to be worked up into bars of iron or webs of cloth, when thousands at home are anxious to do the work. I observed in the market quotations, some time ago, the price of corn in a Western town, at forty cents per bushel, and in the same paper the price at Liverpool was quoted at one dollar per bushel. The producer must then pay sixty bushels out of every hundred to get that corn to this foreign market, to be exchanged for goods to be imported home. If he wants a ton of railroad iron, and had his corn in Liverpool, he would give say forty bushels for it at forty dollars per ton ; but, to do this, he must send one hundred bushels, to be tolled by freights, commissions, and other charges, which every producer who is obliged to send his produce to a commission merchant for sale fully understands, as he complains of the meagre balance on the account of sales rendered. If we made these articles, and all others which we have the means of making, but do not make, the home market for agricultural produce would be just as good as the foreign, and a ton of iron, even at a price twelve or fifteen dollars higher than the foreign iron, would still be the cheaper article of the two.

The advantages of having our manufactures at home, instead of abroad, are just as palpable and appreciable as are the advantages of the farmer who can go to his market town frequently during the day, and return, over one who lives so far away that he must spend a day in traveling to the same place. It is a marvel that an intelligent people will tamely submit to such exacting demands upon their industry. But, sir, we send something more than our products in exchange for these goods. After exporting our raw materials, the product of the land, the forest, and the sea, and what little manufactured goods other people buy from us, we have been obliged to send out, in the last ten years, about four hundred millions of dollars, in gold and silver, over our imports of the same metals. And what should occasion the gravest anxiety, this outflow of specie is still going on beyond all former example, so that, unless there is some effectual relief, such as this bill will assuredly afford, it is not difficult to perceive the approach of another revulsion, more calamitous than that of 1857. It has been urged, however, that if each nation manufactured everything for the supply of its own wants, we would lose our commerce, with all its civilizing influences. Now, Mr. Chairman, is it possible to point out a country on the face of the earth, where protection has been adopted as a system, whose commerce has not, at the same time, flourished. On the contrary, sir, experience justifies the assertion that the commerce of nations who have protected their labor—including our own country during the two protective tariffs of 1828 and 1842—has prospered, and those nations who have exchanged their raw materials for the manufactured goods of others have but a limited commerce, or none at all. The protected nation is rich, because the people are employed, and can therefore buy ; while the nation whose laborers are idle is poor, and cannot buy

from others. If it were possible that the people of every nation were fully employed, so that they made every talent to grow which the bounty of Providence intrusted to them, commerce—true, legitimate commerce—would whiten every sea. Variety is the order of God's providence. He has made no two men alike, either in physical or mental endowments; and the same diversity is found amongst nations. The countries in which they are allotted differ in soil, climate, and adaptation to particular pursuits; and as long as this diversity in both nations and countries exists, there will be variety in the productions of their labor, and one which has not, will buy what the other has to sell; and thus there will always be a demand for ships and sailors.

The gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. MOORE,] in his argument against specific duties, as being the protective feature of this bill, invoked us to follow the examples of England and France, in abandoning, as he supposed, the antiquated notions of protection, by throwing open their ports to the unrestricted commerce of the world. "All honor," said he, "to the rulers of these two ancient and renowned Kingdoms, for the boldness with which they have taken their stand on the side of free trade." Sir, it is true that, in many instances, these nations have abandoned, and in many others have reduced, their duties on foreign imports, but I deny that they have ever abandoned protection.

The agitation of free trade began in England by some reductions of duties on silks, under the lead of Mr. Huskisson, but was carried on chiefly in the controversy relative to the modification of the corn laws, which has terminated in their final repeal. That, sir, was a measure of the merchants and manufacturers, designed to advance the prosperity of manufactures and trade. Its professed object was to furnish cheap food, as a means of enabling them to maintain a competition with the manufacturers of other nations destructive of their interests. I cannot present the real issue of that famous controversy better than by one or two extracts from the arguments of those who are called free traders. Colonel T. Wood, a member of Parliament, supported the measure, and said:

"It would contribute to the general prosperity of the country, but was *absolutely necessary* to the preservation of the manufacturing interest."

Again he says:

"In certain districts of the country there is a superabundance of population, and no employment for them; and unless they could increase the manufacturing prosperity of the country, what chance had they for employment? His impression was that the supply of food was not adequate to the demand, and supplies should be realized from abroad."

Another advocate of free trade, Sir W. Clay, remarked:

"Adopt the more widely the principles of free trade, and afford to our manufacturers the means of competing with others. All the great branches of manufactures exported a considerable portion of their produce; that portion could only bear such a price as would

'enable it to compete with the goods of our rivals, and the price of the portion exported absolutely governed the price of the home market. If it was absolutely inevitable that wages should fall, in order that the manufacturers might meet their foreign rivals, how was the necessity to be met but by a decrease in the price of provisions?'"

It is needless to multiply proofs of the purpose of this measure. But the movement, I am aware, has not stopped with the repeal of the corn laws. It has been pushed much further, and the duties on many articles formerly highly protected have been abandoned, but in no case were they abandoned *when they were any longer useful for protection*. When they had served their purpose in maturing the manufactures to such a degree of strength that they could stand alone, they were removed. The article of iron was protected by the most prohibitory duties, until there was not only a full supply for home consumption, but for large exports. No one would have thought of exporting iron to England, any more than "coals to Newcastle." It is true that many years ago they removed the duty on charcoal iron; but the reason was, that charcoal iron having ceased to be manufactured in England, in consequence of the disappearance of that fuel, they desired to obtain their supply from Sweden, as that sort was needed by the English steel manufacturers.

By the tariff of 1858, the duty has been entirely removed from iron, and, so far as protection was concerned, it might have been removed sooner; but as long as it stood, it was supposed to be in the way of the arguments addressed to other nations in favor of the removal of their duties; and this was the policy which governed them in removing the duties from many other articles on which protection was useless. This is most obviously confessed in a letter written by Mr. Gladstone, in the early part of 1836, when it was ascertained that a conference was to be held at Paris for the negotiation of peace. A memorial was addressed to the Foreign Secretary, by the manufacturers of Sheffield, urging him to exert his influence as a diplomatist to obtain an abandonment of protective duties by the European nations. Mr. Gladstone was consulted by those interested, and replied that he sympathized with them in their desire for what he calls commercial freedom, and proceeds as follows:

"Between 1841 and 1845, I held office in the Board of Trade; and this was the period during which England was most actively engaged in the endeavor to negotiate, with the principal States of the civilized world, treaties for the reciprocal reduction of duties on imports. The task was pined on our side with sufficient zeal, but in every case we failed. I am sorry to add my opinion, that we did more than fail. Its tendency was to lead countries to regard with jealousy and suspicion, as boons to foreigners, alterations in their laws. * * * England, finding that she could make no progress in this direction, took her own course, struck rapid and decisive blows at the system of protection,

'and reduced, as far as the exigencies of the public service would permit, the very high duties, which in many cases she maintained simply for the purpose of revenue, upon articles *that had no domestic produce to compete with*, while our reasonings had done nothing, or less than nothing, our example effected something, and commercial freedom has made some progress in other countries since 1846.'

Sir, there was not a duty removed on an article of any consequence of the manufactures of Great Britain, since the beginning of her reform, protective in its character, that was not perfectly useless for that purpose. The example of this vaunted reform was in fact nothing but the reduction of high revenue duties on articles that did not enter into competition with her own produce. Was it a decisive blow at the protection of her iron manufactures, to remove duties on that article, when she can make it, and undersell all other countries in their own markets?

Sir, I commend the country to that system of free trade which first protects and continues to protect by duties, which are removed only when they are no longer needed either for revenue or protection.

It is the weak, and not the strong, that need protection. The infant, in the order of nature, needs the constant guardianship of the nurse; but by degrees, as years increase, it is relaxed, and he is left in the battle of life still more and more to rely on his own strength, until, when manhood comes, with its rough-textured nerve, stout heart, and high hope, he becomes "perfectly free" and self-reliant. We do not desire a tithe of the encouragement which England has rendered her iron works; we can reach independence in a much shorter time than she stood guardian for hers. I believe that ten years of honest protection would enable us to supply our own wants.

But, sir, there is one other example of that advancing "commercial freedom" on which so much praise has been expended, that I must beg the indulgence of the Committee by a reference to it. When we first met, at the present session, and when it was known that the friends of protection would be likely to command a working majority of this House, our opponents throughout the country heralded the advent of a new convert to the doctrine of free trade. France, it was said, was about to signalize the glories of unrestricted trade, by a commercial treaty with England; and for us at such a time to take up the old cast-off garments of protection, would be but to confess ourselves laggards in the race of civilization. The treaty was concluded in January, and its provisions reached us in February, quite in time to prevent our relapse into barbarism. But, sir, instead of showing us a new light by which to discern the mistaken policy of this bill, it has only served to strengthen our convictions of the soundness of the principle on which it is founded. It must be remembered that the French commercial system has, for a longer time than that of any other nation of the world, been most eminently protective to her industry. As far back as 1664, under the administration of Colbert, a

general tariff was established, on the following bases:

1. To diminish the duties of importation on all articles required for manufactures.

2. To exclude foreign manufactures, by raising the duties.

St. Ferreol, in 1834, in a resumé of the policy on which the commercial regulations of the Kingdom were based, mentions, among others:

"1. The reduction of duties solely on articles required for the manufacturers.

"2. The encouragement of importation of machinery for manufacturing.

"3. Prohibition of the exports of machinery, and all that may contribute to the development of foreign industry.

"4. The removal of no prohibition, the reduction of no duty on manufactures, on any other consideration than to diminish the profits of fraud.

"5. The adoption of the principle that in all treaties with England, most of the conditions which she will propose are those which we ought to avoid."

It was under such training that the manufactures of France have grown up, until they are chiefly confined to the finest forms of fabrics, and command the admiration of the world. At the close of the last year preceding the negotiation of the treaty which it is the boast of free traders was an abandonment of her doctrines of protection, her *special* commerce of exports, which does not include goods manufactured from materials imported with a view to re-exportation, amounted to \$350,982,000—an amount which one would suppose indicated a strength sufficient to enable them to submit at least some modifications of their highly-prohibitory duties. By this treaty, France agrees to reduce her duties, on various articles of British production and manufacture, imported from the United Kingdom, to a maximum duty of thirty per centum, including linens, woollens, gloves, &c., some descriptions of iron manufactures, coal, and coke; and after the 1st October, 1864, the maximum duty is to be twenty-five per cent. On other kinds of iron, the duty, by article 17, shall be thirteen dollars per ton till 1st October, 1864, and thereafter eleven dollars. And as no civilized nation but our own will long tolerate *ad valorem* duties, it is provided that they shall be converted into specifics, on the average prices of the five months preceding the date of the treaty; and whilst they are in force they are to be estimated on the value of the article imported, at the place of manufacture, with the addition of freight, insurance, and commissions. In consideration of these advantages, England admits the chief productions of France free of duty, beyond the amount of her direct taxes on like articles, and so far reduces her revenue duties on French wines as to render them accessible to the mass of her population. Surely nothing but long-established habits of associating the idea of prosperity with existing protective duties long after they have ceased to perform their functions of protection, would restrain a Frenchman from yielding his consent to such a bargain; for, in truth,

it is a measure calculated to favor the industry of France, and therefore in perfect harmony with her long-cherished policy. I do not propose to rest the case thus, but to show that in the negotiation of the treaty France was influenced by considerations such as these. A report, signed by Rouher and Baroche, the negotiators of the treaty, and submitted to the Emperor—for a copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of a friend—represents the principles by which they were guided in the discharge of their official duties. I extract the following:

"Did not those who have brought to the discussion of these economic problems the strongest sentiments of attachment to our existing regulations declare, in 1834, that tariffs, whilst temporarily advantageous, should end when the education of industry is finished, when it attains its full growth, and that every branch of industry should cease to be protected when it has reached that growth?

"Then, reduced within these limits, the question is simply one of fact: Has French industry reached such a degree of manhood as to justify the removal of prohibitions, and the substitution of moderate tariffs in their stead? Let us inquire into the facts:

"Our total export for 1858 amounts, for special commerce, to 1,887,000,000 francs, (actual values.) What portion of this entire sum consists of articles the importation of which into France is prohibited?" [Here follows a table of various manufactures embraced in the exports, the values of which amount to 484,400,000 francs.] And the report proceeds:

"Thus, similar articles, prohibited from importation into France, form more than one-fourth part of our exports. Then, in the eyes of candid men not seduced by empty sophisms, is there not a sign of manhood and strength in these extensive sales made by our manufacturers in foreign markets, in full competition with the manufacturers of other nations, and often, too, in competition with the protected products of the nation to whose market they were exported? Can it be possible that international competition, moderated by duties, will overwhelm our manufacturers in the French market, when they can meet without danger, and with advantage, competition in a foreign market?"

Mr. Chairman, I commend this extract from the report to the consideration of those who seem to suppose, that because France has come down from absolute prohibitions to a moderate tariff, that therefore we should abandon everything which in the least savors of protection. Whenever it shall be found that our manufactures, on which we demand protection, have been developed to such strength and maturity that they can not only supply our own wants, but penetrate other markets in competition with the world, and even against the protected products of other nations to which they are exported, then, sir, may the free traders find in this action of France an example which they may with propriety ask us to follow. But, before quitting this topic, I would further invite attention to the views expressed in this report relative

to the duties upon the article of iron, concerning which the stipulations constitute, in their opinion, the most delicate of their negotiations. They state that the English ambassadors demanded a reduction of duties on iron, to the rate of fifteen per cent. *ad valorem*; but that the results of an inquiry, most thorough and complete, instituted by the Emperor, into the condition of charcoal and coke furnaces, and conducted by the most respectable and scientific men, demonstrated that the British proposition, if accepted, would result in immediate and serious evils to this important interest; and in place of adopting it, a maximum duty of thirty per cent. was imposed on pigs, bars, and castings, till the 1st October, 1864, and twenty-five per cent. afterwards, to be changed to specifics. And on other descriptions of larger size, and on rails, then bearing a duty of \$22.32 per ton, it was provided the duty should be reduced to thirteen dollars. It is well known, Mr. Chairman, that one of the chief obstacles to the progress of the iron manufacture in France has arisen from the gradual disappearance of wood in the neighborhood of her numerous furnaces. They are steadily losing this fuel, as they lost it in England; but the English had a decided advantage over the French, in the proximity of the coal and ore mines. In France, they are widely separated, so that there is difficulty in supplying the loss of charcoal with coal and coke. The French Government, sensible of this, and that whatever of inconvenience the iron interest might experience in competition with the English article, under the reduced duties, would be more than compensated by the construction of railroads that would connect the coal and the ore, has declared its purpose, as stated by the report I have been considering, to restrain within just limits the foreign competition by the projection of such railroads, with the determination to prosecute them to completion. And thus, as they state, it is the purpose of the Government "to come resolutely to the aid of French metallurgy." I therefore, Mr. Chairman, submit that it is unjust in those who profess hostility to the principle of protection in this country, to claim an exemplification of their theory in the action of France and England. The common experience of the nations of the world, and more especially our own experience under the various systems which have from time to time prevailed with us, admonishes us that protection is the only policy that will lead us steadily and safely to that state of industrial independence on which commerce can rest with security. How long shall we close our ears to the authoritative instructions of experience, which teach us that just when we adopt protection, the production of the country increases, and labor finds its legitimate employment, and commerce flourishes, and when you abandon it, production diminishes, labor is paralyzed, and commerce languishes?

I believe the day is not distant when every section of the Confederacy will feel the power of truth, and, casting aside the fallacies of theorists, will compel the Government to "come resolutely to the aid" of the national industry.

In many parts of the Northern and Middle States, there has long been a conviction in the public mind of its necessity, and protection has thus become a cardinal doctrine of political faith. In the Western States, a general and decided impression of the wisdom of the policy has gained a hold on the sentiments of the people, who, the more they come to value a home market for their cereals, and the development of the exhaustless treasures of mineral wealth that lie concealed beneath their soil, the more zealously will they unite in a course which will enable them to realize both.

The people of the South, too, though now in opposition to the long-cherished sentiments of many of their wisest and most eminent statesmen, will, sooner or later, find, in a return to their early principles of public economy, that no part of our country is more deeply and directly interested in the creation and maintenance of manufactures than they. They will learn that when laborers are fully employed, they are able, not only to consume more and better food, but more and better clothing; and they will rejoice in the advantages of sending their cotton to mills at home, rather than those three thousand miles away. The bill before us promises a large share of these benefits, not to a few, not to a class, but to the whole nation. We do not seek the mere agitation of an abstract question concerning the development of social and national strength; we do not provoke controversy merely to triumph

in the establishment of an economic theory, nor yet to raise a "well-pronouncing Shibboleth" of partisan warfare; none of these things, sir, none. We look to wholesome practical results, in which we earnestly believe every class of our fellow-citizens has an abiding interest. We desire by the passage of this bill to remedy actual pressing evils, and to prevent, as we believe, still greater impending perils. The issue, sir, is a serious one. Never have I known the people so profoundly interested in a public measure. It will be no light thing to trifle with their hopes and wishes. Pass the bill, and the restoration of confidence will be instantaneous. Energetic and enterprising men, with spirits revived by your action, will set in motion the hand of industry before the time fixed for the operation of the law. In the dwellings of the poor, too, your action will be blessed with words of joy and gladness, more grateful than the favor of princes. If the bill is to be defeated, let it be on a square, manly issue, in which opposing convictions can claim the respect always due to candor. If defeated by parliamentary arts, which either conceal its enemies with the veil of non-action, or place them in the seeming attitude of friendship, depend upon it the gauze will not cover the nakedness of the deception, and they who shall thus stand in the way of the nation's prosperity will be smitten, as with the plague, by the indignation of the people.

